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ABSTRACT

This paper reports an investigation into the transitional dialect spoken by learners in the process of learning a second language. Theories concerning the psychology of second language learning which have been hypothesized by a small number of people in the field are discussed. These theories were first reported on from Scotland and England and have recently made their way into American linguistic circles. A project is described in which the conversations of five second language learners who were studying English as a second language (ESL) at Bronx Community College in the summer of 1975 were taped, transcribed and analyzed. The learners' uses of "don't" as a generalized negating device are outlined. The results of an analysis of these learners' use of auxiliaries, negatives and question formation, along with a comparative study of the results of other researchers after studying these same three linguistic subsystems, conclude the study. (Author/CLK)

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DESCRIBING THE TRANSITIONAL DIALECTS OF SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNERS

by Linda Barker

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INTRODUCTION

During the spring semester of 1974 I began teaching English as a Second Language at Bronx Community College. Though I had taught ESL before at private institutions and at the Borough of Manhattan Community College, there was something different at B.C.C. Whether the students were sociologically different from those I had previously taught, whether that spring class was a particularly unusual one, or whether my hearing was becoming more attuned I did not know, but I began to make a distinction between the speech of these students and the others I had taught. They were not ESL students in one sense: most ESL students spend a short amount of time in this country before coming to a class for their first or continued study of English. Many of these B.C.C. students, however, had been here many years, had even gone to high school here. I believed their English had been influenced by this sociological fact.

Dialect was the only word I knew to express the regularities of error which I was hearing. It was rule-governed error. Some of their speech exhibited some grammatical features of the speech of the pre-school non-standard-English-speaking children that I had studied two years earlier. And yet, they were not dialect speakers in one sense: there were too many gaps in their ability to express themselves clearly. Methods of teaching English as a Second Dialect did not seem appropriate. I became curious as to how their speech was dialectal and how it related to both the social dialects of non-standard English and to the speech of the more traditional ESL student.

This paper outlines the chronology and scope of my investigation in this

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area of "dialect." It is organized into three sections in which I discuss:

1. Theories concerning the psychology of second language learning which have been hypothesized by a small number of people in the field. These theories were first reported on from Scotland and England and have recently made their way into American circles.

2. A project in which I collected and analyzed language samples from five second language learners currently in instruction at Bronx Community College. In this second section I discuss their use of don't as a generalized negating device and, at the same time, introduce them as young adults with opinions, concerns and problems which they are ready to express in English.

3. The results of an analysis of these learners' learning of auxiliaries, negatives and question formation, along with the reports of other researchers concerning these same three linguistic subsystems.

During my investigation I have become more attuned to hearing the linguistic guesses that learners make when they are speaking English. In pointing out these guesses and asking them to make a different "guess," I believe I have focused more clearly on each learner's strategies of speaking. Although this paper does not deal specifically with the classroom implications of the theory and research presented, it is in the classroom that I hope these insights will have application.

New York, November 1975.

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I. THEORIES OF SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

The research described in this section is reported chronologically from 1967 to the present. It gives theoretical background to my intuitions about second language learners' speech, first inspired by students at Bronx Community College. I was looking for a term similar to dialect to describe what I heard in the speech of these students, and I found interlanguage, transitional dialect, idiosyncratic dialect, approximative systems and the concepts of strategies and processes which shape a learner's speech. As in the social dialects I had studied earlier, I had to wrestle with the fact that the concept of error has no validity in a transitional dialect, for each dialect conforms to its own rules which are highly unstable and continually developing toward the norms of the second language. I found a continuum of progress between the speaker's native language and the target second language which reflects the learning style of each learner. The concepts of terminal competence and fossilization describe the difficulties along this continuum. There is, indeed, much to hear in the speech of the learners I meet everyday, for each one's production is the result of social, psychological and linguistic interactions and is rich in significance for the study of second language learning.

Research in the area of second language learners' speech began in Edinburg with the publication of S. Pitt Corder's article "The Significance of Learner's Errors" in 1967.[1] Corder hypothesized that there is one key similarity in the speech of all language learners, children and adults alike. Learners' speech,

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[1] IRAL 4 (1967):161-169.

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he said, is systematic, and their errors are evidence of their tendency to induce rules. Unsystematic errors are present in all speech and may be regarded as "slips of the tongue" which are readily correctible, but systematic errors, he stated, are significant in that they point out each learner's transitional competence. They illustrate how far the learners have progressed and what remains for them to learn. Systematic errors also provide evidence of how a language is acquired and what strategies a learner employs. They enable learners to test their own hypotheses about the nature of the language they are learning. As teachers, Corder suggests, we should be aware of this behavior and allow the learners' strategies and "built-in syllabus" to dictate our practices and determine our teaching sequence.

Two years after Corder's statements were published, Larry Selinker reported on an experiment in language transfer with Israeli and American children. Selinker coined the term interlanguage for the systematic behavior, including errors and non-errors, which results whenever learners attempt to speak a foreign language. He elicited certain structures from Israeli children in Hebrew and in English. He found that the order of certain syntactic strings, such as place-time or time-place in Hebrew, transferred to the subjects' English interlanguage. The interlanguage samples were then compared to similar elicitations of American children, illustrating the phenomena of positive, negative and neutral language transfer.[2]

In another article, delivered at the Second International Conference of Applied Linguistics in 1969, Selinker postulated that learning a second language involves successive reorganization of linguistic knowledge from one's interlanguage to the target (second) language norms. The interlanguage of the Israeli children

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[2]Larry Selinker, "Language Transfer," General Linguistics 9 (1969): 67-92.

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he had studied was systematic. Much of the linguistic knowledge underlying it came from Hebrew and, where the Hebrew and English norms differed (negative transfer), the children would have to reorganize their knowledge to accord with English norms in order to speak as a native speaker of English would. Selinker also hypothesized that whenever learners speak, they utilize a latent psychological structure, the "domain of interlingual identifications," which includes knowledge of their native language, knowledge of the target language, and the rules underlying their own interlanguage.[3]

Selinker addresses the problem of persistent interlanguage errors that are often the bane of second language learners and teachers alike. Such errors are troublesome problems in the classroom, deserving of Selinker's weighty title fossilizable structures. Whether these structures do in fact permanently fossilize or not is a classroom concern; underlying their presence, however, Selinker postulates five psycholinguistic processes. A student's interlanguage may be shaped by one or more of these processes:

1. Language transfer--the transfer of grammatical rules from the native language to the interlanguage.
2. Transfer of training--the influence of teaching techniques and sequence.
3. Strategies of learning--unique to each individual.
4. Strategies of communication--the influence on interlanguage of the need to express themselves to people in their new culture, even when they have not been exposed to ways of expressing certain structures.
5. Overgeneralization--the application of linguistic rules already learned to situations in which they are not applicable.[4]

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[3] Larry Selinker, "The Psychologically Relevant Data of Second Language Learning," The Psychology of Second Language Learning: Papers from the Second International Conference of Applied Linguistics, Cambridge 1969, ed. Paul Pimsleur and Terence Quinn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 35-43.

[4] Ibid., pp. 37-39.

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Selinker recommends that future research concentrate on these fossilizable areas and their underlying psycholinguistic processes in the speech of free language learners, i.e. those learners who are not under instruction.

At the same conference held in Cambridge, England in 1969, Eugene Nida elaborated on many sociopsychological influences which may cause this fossilization, or what Nida terms a leveling-off or decline in ability to speak a second language. In particular, his concept of mutual adjustment elucidates a strategy of communication that is familiar to all of us who have had occasion to converse with a second language learner. Mutual adjustment is defined as a stage in which learners believe they are communicating reasonably well with a minimum of effort of their part, and their listeners feel that making further demands on them would be more troublesome (and potentially embarrassing) than their adjusting to the errors. Although such adjustment makes communication easier, it does not give the learners the chance to test out and refine their current interlanguage hypotheses.[5]

D.A. Reibel, another conference participant, also discussed strategies of learning when he addressed the question of whether an adult's "built-in language learning syllabus" is the same as that of a child learning a first language. He postulated that the process of learning a language has two components for any learner: a language learning competence which consists of underlying principles of learning and analysis and a language learning performance which consists of a method for applying these underlying principles and which is controlled by personal factors and situations. As teachers, we often observe the difference in these two components, as when a learner "knows" a language rule but has not

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[5]Eugene A. Nida, "Sociopsychological Problems in Language Mastery and Retention," The Psychology of Second Language Learning, ed. Pimsleur and Quinn, pp. 59-65.

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yet learned to apply this principle in speaking. Reibel concludes that the difference in any two language learners, regardless of age, can be explained by the total strategy each one uses. Like Selinker, he calls for a study of the speech of adult learners over time. His focus of investigation would be a two-part focus: the order in which linguistic features are acquired and the use of error analysis to study the changes in the underlying rules each learner utilizes over time.[6] Error analysis, referred to often in this research, is the analysis of learners' errors with reference to the grammar of their native language. It is a way of defining level of language mastery and of devising materials to deal with what remains to be learned.

In 1970 Susan Ervin-Tripp also pointed out the similarity in process between second language learners and children acquiring their first language. Regardless of the many motivational and maturational differences between adults and children, all language learners "filter, reorganize, generalize and simplify the selectively processed input by using the apparatus of structure and process which are available to them."[7] Although the apparatus available to children and adults is obviously experientially different, both types of learners produce speech in which systematic errors point out transitional competence and indicate the strategies and processes underlying this competence.

In 1971, Corder published a paper which discusses the dialectal nature of a second language learner's speech. In "Idiosyncratic Dialects and Error Analysis," he considers the language of the learner "or perhaps a certain group

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[6] D.A. Reibel, "Language Learning Strategies for the Adult," The Psychology of Second Language Learning, ed. Pimsleur and Quinn, pp. 87-96.

[7] Susan Ervin-Tripp, "Structure and Process in Language Acquisition," Bilingualism and Language Contact: Anthropological, Linguistic, Psychological and Sociological Aspects, Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, no. 23 (Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 1970), p. 314.

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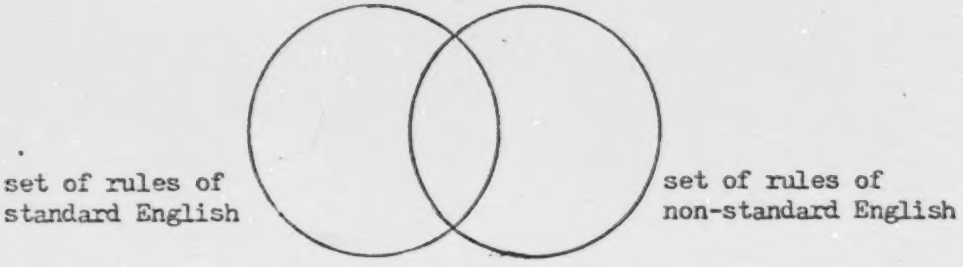
of learners" to be a "special sort of dialect" based on two considerations. "Any spontaneous speech intended by the speaker to communicate is meaningful," he states, "in the sense that it is systematic, regular and, consequently is, in principle, describable in terms of a set of rules, i.e. it has a grammar." A second language learner's speech also contains a number of sentences "isomorphous with some of the sentences of his target language and have the same interpretation." The learner's language is, therefore, a dialect in the linguistic sense: dialects are languages which share some rules of grammar.[8]

"Standard English" and "non-standard English," below, for example, are in dialectal relation.



For reasons of prestige, power and tradition, non-standard English is usually spoken of as "a dialect of standard English," but the two are linguistically equal.

A further, but non-linguistic, feature of a dialect is that it is usually the shared behavior of a social group. "In this sense," Corder says, "the language of the learner may or may not be a dialect."[9] He distinguishes three types of dialect: social dialects spoken by groups of people, idiolects which may be mixtures of different social dialects, and idiosyncratic dialects which are not the languages of social groups. In idiosyncratic dialects, "some of the rules required to account for dialect are not members of a set of rules of any

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[8] IRAL 9 (1971): 147.

[9] Ibid., p. 148.

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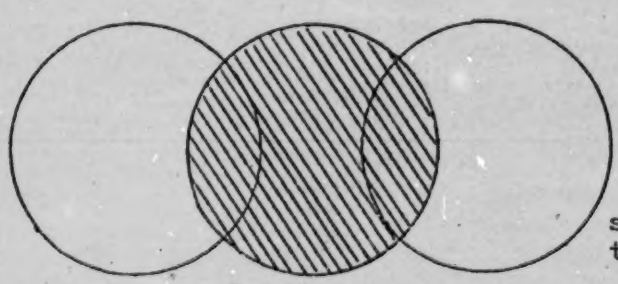
social dialect; they are peculiar to the language of that speaker. All idiosyncratic dialects have this characteristic in common that some of the rules required to account for them are peculiar to an individual."[10] Such dialects are used by poets, aphasic people, infants learning their mother tongue and second language learners. Referring to the term interlanguage, Corder says, "Selinker (1969) has proposed the term interlanguage for this class of idiosyncratic dialects, implying thereby that it is a dialect whose rules share characteristics of two social dialects or languages, whether these languages themselves share rules or not." (See diagram below.)



[11]

Corder regards Selinker's implication as "an open question which deals with language universals," and he suggests an alternative term, transitional dialect, which emphasizes the unstable nature of such dialects.[12] The reason for the instability of a transitional dialect is that "the object of speech is normally to communicate, i.e. to be understood. If understanding is only partial, then a speaker has a motive to bring his behavior into line with conventions of some social group, if he is able. (Emphasis mine.)"[13, 14]

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[10] Ibid., p. 149.

[11] Ibid., p. 151.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., p. 149.

[14] It is my belief that though some of the transitional dialects spoken by

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Corder argues that the concept of error has no validity in reference to a transitional dialect because error implies a breach of rules which are or ought to be known. A transitional dialect is idiosyncratic precisely because the rules of the second language are not yet known. An erroneous sentence is readily correctible by the speaker; a sentence of a transitional dialect is not erroneous because it conforms to the rules of its own grammar. Errors, indeed, are not mistakes in habit structure as behaviorists might view them; the making and correcting of errors is an inevitable and necessary part of the learning process. Corder also calls for a three-phased analysis of all of a learner's utterances. The phases involve recognition of idiosyncracy in which a learner's utterances must be interpreted, description of these utterances in terms of bilingual comparison, and explanation of them based on linguistic or psycho-linguistic criteria.

In bringing his linguistic behavior "in line with the conventions of some social group," as Daniel Dato found when studying the verb phrases of English-speaking children learning Spanish, a learner gradually gains more control over a particular grammatical concept.[15] This "gaining of control" is the grammatical continuum which Selinker refers to as "successive reorganization" of interlanguage hypotheses to accord with target language norms.

W. Nemser, another linguist who reported on the same special sort of dialect in 1971, refers to learner language as approximative systems. He believes that the demands of communication force an autonomous organization of

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students at B.C.C. are in clear transit from native language to the standard language of the classroom, others reflect the "conventions of some social group" in the communities of the learners.

[15]Daniel P. Dato, "The Development of the Spanish Verb Phrase in Children's Second Language Learning," The Psychology of Second Language Learning, ed. Pimsleur and Quinn, pp. 19-35.

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rules on a second language learner's speech. The resulting systems are "dependent systems forming evaluative gradations toward specific languages but falling outside the normal dialectal and stylistic scope of these languages.[16] Nemser believes that these systems vary with proficiency in the second language, learning experience, communication function and personal learning characteristics. They are also, he says, similar to the systems of other learners from the same native language background.

Nemser criticizes the current mode of linguistic analysis, contrastive analysis, for being dialinguistic rather than multilinguistic. Contrastive analysis differs from error analysis in that it does not deal with error; it compares the similarities and differences of native and target languages without reference to specific error. Nemser believes that the analysis of these two language systems is not enough to explain the process of second language learning. There should also be analysis of the learner's own approximative system because a learner's own recent rule system shapes his subsequent system as much as the native or target language norms do. The formative power of a learner's recent approximative system is also soon to be observed by Selinker. He hypothesizes that fossilized backsliding, or decline in second language mastery, is in the direction of a learner's previous interlanguage hypotheses rather than back toward his native language norms.[17] Nemser, like Corder, Selinker and Reibel, states that the learner system should itself be the focus of analysis and that a more sophisticated reformulation of contrastive analysis is necessary.

At the same time, Jack Richards also outlines the faults of contrastive analysis. He discusses three types of what Selinker calls fossilizable structures.

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[16] W. Nemser, "Approximative Systems of Foreign Language Learners," IRAL 9 (1971): 122.

[17] Larry Selinker, "Interlanguage," IRAL 10 (1972): 209-31.

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There are interlanguage errors--those caused by negative transfer from the native language, intralanguage errors--those characteristic of rule learning, such as improper application of a rule, and developmental errors--those caused by making hypotheses based on limited experience with a language and which may be similar to the developmental errors of children. These last two kinds of error are not dealt with in contrastive analysis. They do reflect a learner's transitional competence and illustrate some of the general characteristics of language acquisition for all learners. Richards recommends a study of these errors and the teaching techniques from which they derive.[18]

There is a clear consistency in the development of these men's thinking. There is a continual narrowing of focus towards this new area in linguistic transition, a language interface, and its psychological component in reference to language learning. Though this discussion focuses on grammar specifically, we should not lose appreciation of the other aspects of interface a second language learner must cope with. There are at least two other aspects: psychological interface with reference to other, non-linguistic behavior of the learner, in particular motivation and self-concept, and a paralinguistic interface dealing with new cultural codes of body language, voicing and their significance in communication.

Before considering the interlanguage concept in its broader cultural setting, however, we should look at S. Pitt Corder's view of the process of describing a transitional dialect. In 1972 he defined the terms and the approach for the second phase of this three-phased analysis (see page 10). Language description "should answer the question: 'what does the learner know, what language does he use, what are the categories and systems with which he

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[18] Jack C. Richards, "Error Analysis and Second Language Strategies," Language Sciences 17 (1971): 12-22.

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is working?'"[19] Corder clarifies the difference between the data which determine teaching procedures (error analysis data) and a description. "To know that the learner cannot perform some target language operation may be useful for teaching purposes but for the purposes of a description of 'etat de dialecte' we wish to know what similar or equivalent operations he does use."[20]

Corder shares the viewpoint of linguists who study child language acquisition in regarding the whole corpus of a learner's output as relevant data in description. This corpus includes three types of utterances:

1. Superficially deviant utterances, also termed overtly idiosyncratic. These utterances are clearly not ones a native speaker would use to express the same meanings.

2. Superficially well-formed utterances. The grammar of these utterances is the grammar of the target language. They are readily interpretable by any native speaker and are appropriate in context. These are a learner's "correct" utterances, which would not be considered in error analysis.

3. Covertly idiosyncratic utterances. Although these utterances are well-formed, they are not appropriate in context.

In language description, these three types of data are compared to the target language in order to discover the degree to which a learner expresses his messages by means of the categories and rules which a native speaker of the target language uses.[21] (See discussion of obligatory context, Section III, page 41). Corder believes that error analysis is no longer useful because it is "based on the assumption that only his (a learner's) superficially deviant and inappropriate utterances are utterances not in the target language."[22] Error

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[19] S. Pitt Corder, "Describing the Language Learner's Language," Interdisciplinary Approaches to Language, no. 6 (London: CILT Reports and Papers, 1972), p. 59.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., p. 60.

[22] Ibid., p. 61.

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analysis, which has been concerned with devising a "remedial syllabus" has been "target language based." Corder argues that "whatever the surface form or apparent appropriateness of a learner's utterances, none are utterances in the target language. In other words, he is not speaking the target language at any time, but a language of his own, a unique idiolect[23] which no doubt shares many of the features of the target language.[24] Within the corpus of speech, the "concept of grammaticality or deviance is not applicable," Corder declares, because "everything he (the learner) utters is by definition a grammatical utterance in his dialect."[25] Sequential sets of description of a learner's transitional speech will enable us to make inferences about the learning process in order to "correlate the nature of the data presented (in the classroom) with the state of the learner's grammar."[26]

In the same year Larry Selinker published an article refining the definition of interlanguage in its occasional setting. Interlanguage occurs in any meaningful performance situation, i.e. when adults attempt to express meanings they may already have in a language which they are in the process of learning. Interlanguage does not occur when a student is responding to a classroom drill situation; that is well known as "classroom language." In discussing the five processes that shape interlanguage (see page 5), he declares that strategies for handling second language material evolve whenever learners realize, either consciously or subconsciously, that they have no linguistic competence with regard to some

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[23]Corder has previously distinguished an idiolect from an idiosyncratic dialect (see page 8). I am unclear as to why he would now use idiolect unless in reference to the shared features of a "certain group of learners." The word unique, here, also modifies the social nature of his previous definition of idiolect.

[24]Corder, Describing, p. 61.

[25]Ibid., p. 62.

[26]Ibid., p. 58

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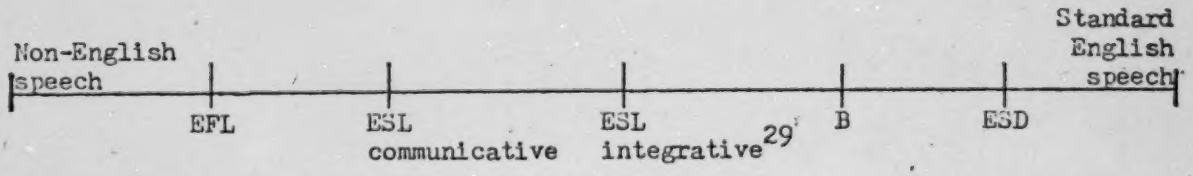
aspect of the target language.[27] Strategies are a reaching out in the domain of interlingual identifications.

A contemporary of these second language theorists, Maurice Imhoof, invites us to reach out and extend our cultural concept of dialect in a similar vein. He reviews the various approaches to social dialects and teaching standard speech, and he recommends that we adopt the viewpoint of "expanding" or "extending" dialects.[28] He likens any social dialect to Corder's notion of transitional competence (1967), moving closer and closer on a continuum of interlanguage to the approximations of standard speech. He believes that we should focus on the relatedness of dialects. Though they reveal surface differences, these differences are simply different realizations of the potential of the English language. The continuum of dialects he draws, adapted below, is a provocative one.



EFL - English as a Foreign Language
B - Bilingual
ESD - English as a Second Dialect

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[27]Selinker, "Interlanguage," pp. 209-31.

[28]Maurice Imhoof, "Extending Language Action," Language Learning 22 (1972): 189-201.

[29]John Schumann cites David Smith's discussion of three functions of language--the communicative, integrative and expressive functions--in "The Implications of Interlanguage, Pidginization and Creolization for the Study of Adult Language Acquisition," TESOL Quarterly 8 (1974): 147. Smith's terms were first published in his article "Some Implications for the Social Status of Pidgin Languages," Sociolinguistics in Cross Cultural Analysis, ed. David M. Smith and Roger W. Shuy (Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 1972), p. 15. Smith's terms replace others used by Imhoof for consistency in this paper.

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Jack Richards, also in 1972, utilizes the interlanguage model in discussing different contexts of learning English. Interlanguage and the five psycholinguistic processes that shape it are the model for his discussion of the English used by immigrant groups, indigenous minority groups, pidgin and creole speakers, local (overseas) speakers, and learners of English as a foreign language. The differing interlanguages of these groups are related to the varied social contexts in which they are spoken. Social context defines whether an interlingual feature will be considered a deviance or mistake, a mark of transitional or terminal competence, or the result of one of the five psycholinguistic processes of learning in terms of the social conditions under which learning takes place.[30] In Richard's discussion, interlanguage becomes a highly flexible concept, influenced by social interaction of speech communities, social acceptance, and group or individual norms. The discussion adds a broad functional definition to interlanguage and, to me, underscores the fact that any individual learner is tied to a social context of learning language.

In 1974, John H. Schumann explored two of the dialects that Richards mentioned. Schumann believes that the social functions of two dialect processes, pidginization and creolization, can be used as a model for the development of a second language learner's language. He defines interlanguage as "real language with systematic grammar that develops in successive acquisitional stages during the learning process."[31] He defines a pidgin as a language that develops to meet the communication needs of two or more groups of people who speak different languages and who are in a contact situation, typically European traders who

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[30]Jack C. Richards, "Social Factors, Interlanguage and Language Learning," Language Learning 22 (1972): 159-88.

[31]John Schumann, "The Implications of Interlanguage, Pidginization and Creolization for the Study of Adult Language Acquisition," TESOL Quarterly 8 (1974): 147.

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came into contact with non-European indigenous natives. The pidgin that develops is a second language for both peoples, "an auxiliary vehicle of communication."[32] A creole language evolves whenever the speakers of these two separate language backgrounds intermarry, and the pidgin becomes their children's first language. Schumann also discusses David Smith's analysis of the three functions of language. They are "communication, affirmation of social identity and expression of psychological need."[33] A pidgin is restricted to communication. Its interlanguage is simplified and reduced--adequate for its function. A creole, however, serves more personal needs of its speakers. Speakers of a creole affirm their social identity and express their needs in this, their first language, thus employing what Smith calls the "integrative" and "expressive" functions of language. For these purposes, creole languages are more linguistically sophisticated than pidgins. Schumann's hypothesis for second language learners is that when the functions of a second language learners' language are restricted to communication, their interlanguages will reflect the simplifications of a pidgin. When they attempt to mark their identity or express their selves, however, their interlanguages can be expected to expand linguistically as a creole language does. In Schumann's terms, then, a learner's interlanguage evolves from a restricted pidgin, through a creolization stage, to eventual conformity with the second language.

Corder also adds more insight into the process of interlanguage development at this time. In "Error Analysis" he uses the term erroneous to mean "inappropriate in terms of the target language grammar."[34] He then discusses

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[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid.

[34]The Edinburgh Course in Applied Linguistics, ed. S. Pitt Corder and J.P.B. Allen, vol. 3: Techniques in Applied Linguistics (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 3:122.

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many types of "errors," their causes and their implications in communication. He outlines three steps in language learning as evidenced by the nature and degree of error. The three distinct stages of the learning continuum are the presystematic, the systematic and the postsystematic stages. In the presystematic stage, a learners' errors are random. They may occasionally use a correct form but are unaware of a particular rule in the target language. If asked to correct their utterances, they cannot. In the later, systematic stage, the learners' errors are regular. They are operating with some rule system, even though it is not the same as the rules of the target language. Although they still cannot correct these errors, they can give some explanation of their own rules. In the postsystematic stage, the learners produce correct forms, but they do not apply the correct rules consistently. Corder calls this the practice stage. The learners can correct their errors and explain the target language rules. Learners will, of course, be at different stages in regard to different subsystems of the language.

In late 1974, Jack Richards edited a collection of papers entitled Error Analysis: A Study of Second Language Acquisition. Many of the papers discussed in this section were re-published in Richards' collection. In it, he also includes "The Study of Learner English" by himself and Gloria Sampson. They review the modes of analysis of a learner's speech: contrastive analysis which compares two languages on a similar grammatical model, error analysis which looks at specific errors and then uses bilingual comparison to account for them, and the more recent investigations into the processes and strategies of language acquisition by which learners progress through patterns of error. The more recent investigations, outlined above, differ from the former in that the entire linguistic system of the learner is studied, rather than errors alone. The learners

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are generators of their own grammars which underlie their utterances. Richards and Sampson discuss seven processes or strategies, rather than Selinker's five. They are: language transfer; intralingual errors (see page 9); various components of their sociolinguistic situations, namely their relationship to the target language community, motivation, opportunities for learning, and the medium, style and register of their speech; the modality of communication; their age; their own successions of approximative systems; and the hierarchy of difficulty of features of the target language.[35]

The research in this field, which started in 1967, has by now made the term interlanguage one that is gaining familiarity. Indeed, there were many papers given on interlanguage at the 1974 TESOL Convention in Denver. These have been summarized in an article by John Schumann.[36] The 1975 Convention in Los Angeles was also the scene of many workshops and papers on this subject. Within the last three years, there have been a number of experimental studies with second language learners in which the stages of appearance and acquisition have been described. These studies are discussed in the third section of this paper where I present my analysis of five learners' speech in reference to three linguistic subsystems of English.

Practically speaking, I have gained a lot of insight into learner speech from this investigation. Most fundamentally, I have learned that there are dialectal features to listen for. With the understanding of systematic and postsystematic stages, I have learned to listen for some degree of regularity in learner's hypotheses. Once I have perceived it, it is very natural to point

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[35]Jack C. Richards and Gloria P. Sampson, "The Study of Learner English," Error Analysis: Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition, ed. Jack C. Richards, Applied Linguistics and Language Study, gen. ed. C. N.Candlin (London, Longman, 1974), pp. 3-18.

[36]"Techniques for Analyzing Second Language Acquisition Data--A Report from the 1974 TESOL Convention," TESOL Quarterly 8 (1974): 417-23.

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out to students what guesses they are making and that they should make different guesses in those linguistic areas. When it is possible, I believe it is best for the learners themselves to reformulate these guesses, for that is what they will have to do when their communication needs demand their using these structures. It is also instructive for me to see what their alternative guesses are.

I also believe that knowledge of learners' transitional dialects should influence our sequencing of classroom activities. We have long used our preconception of the logic of English in structuring our syllabi. We have too often supposed that our input is our student's intake, not recognizing the fact that all language learners actively select from their linguistic environment. I recommend that our preconceptions of sequencing be continually tempered by the information learners are giving us via their transitional dialects. If we alter our sequence to meet their own built-in syllabi, we may reach a point at which input and intake coincide productively. The techniques for our input should, I think, be those in which learners are free to make guesses and correct themselves by restructuring their hypotheses. These techniques should be used in meaningful language production. And, perhaps most importantly, the research done to date can also teach us a great deal about the amount of practice and time learners need to <u>gradually</u> gain <u>productive control</u> of the grammatical rules of English. The following studies point out again and again that the control implied by the stages of <u>appearance</u> and <u>acquisition</u> is gained gradually, by continual reformulation, over time.

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II. THE LANGUAGE LEARNER'S LANGUAGE
DESCRIBING WHAT'S THERE

By virtue of the fact that a learner's language is systematic, it is, in principle, describable by a set of rules. There are two major difficulties to developing a grammar of a learner's speech, however. The instability of a transitional dialect renders description unverifiable. Sentences are also frequently uninterpretable or ambiguous in context and without an accurate interpretation an analysis cannot be made.

I was, however, interested in making frequent checks over time on the traditional dialects of students I have met at Bronx Community College and in describing their hypotheses. I decided to tape some students who were attending B.C.C. summer school in the summer of 1975 and others who were joining me at my house once a week for conversation. Five students from summer school and three from my house taped conversations regularly, and I have transcribed the speech of the five students from summer school.

They are all students who had been in my classes previously, and they were all repeating the same level of ESL, not having passed the requirements for the intensive writing course. They are all in their early twenties. They come from four different language backgrounds: Chu, Chinese; Sesillia, Korean; Peter, Dominican (he also lived in Puerto Rico for five years); Tita and Malith are also Dominican. The names used here are "pseudonyms" which have been chosen by each person; in most cases they are favorite names that the individuals have wanted to be called.

I chose to tape students from different language backgrounds because that

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is the kind of population I work with in the classroom. I was specifically interested in Chu and Sesillia because I find that oriental students have a great deal of difficulty showing progress, especially on standardized tests, even though they are very bright. In the English writing of Chu and other Chinese students, I have often observed that most of the sentence elements exist, but they are arranged in an order that is like a puzzle to a native speaker. I had met Sesillia in the fall of 1974. During the spring term following that, I had noticed that she looked unhappy, and I eventually learned that she dropped out of school and required psychiatric hospitalization. I wanted to give her an opportunity to speak--perhaps she would choose to take it. I taped Peter because he had often exhibited a lack of concentration and other learning difficulties but sometimes spoke surprisingly well. One day in the spring he had even verbalized his difficulties in a question to Bill Bonham, our assistant, "How come I can concentrate in Karate but I can't in my English class?" (my transliteration of a verbal report from Bill). I wanted to know more about Peter and his language processing. I have also always wondered how Peter could live here for eight years and not acquire more English than he seems to have. I thought that the transitional dialects of Tita, Peter and Malith would give me data about Spanish speaking students from the Dominican Republic; at the time I did not know that Peter had lived in Puerto Rico for five years and thus has a different language background from that of Tita and Malith. The Puerto Rican experience seems to have influenced Peter; he shows a lot of insight into the customs and style of Puerto Ricans in New York, in particular their use and mixing of Spanish and English.

Chu, who lives in the East 80's near First Avenue, has been in New York since his junior high years. He has a lot of friends in his Chinese community. Sesillia has lived in various, non-Korean neighborhoods for three years. She

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lives a very solitary life. Peter lives on 153 Street near Broadway and has been there for eight years. Tita and Malith also live in upper Manhattan. She has been here for five years and he for two. All but Malith have attended New York City high schools. Malith has a high school equivalency diploma in Spanish.

Chu and I met for five consecutive weeks; Sesillia came six consecutive times, the last time on her request (tape untranscribed). Peter taped four conversations, Tita three and Malith two. Although the majority of sessions were one-to-one conversations between the learner and me, some of them spontaneously became groups (Peter walked in. Chu said, "Hi, Peter. Come sit down.") or were planned (Sesillia wanted to practice speaking to Chu because she always got nervous speaking to men and she wanted to change this behavior). Our conversations were generally longer than 30 minutes. Some lasted an hour. During the final session for each student, I showed them pictures and asked them questions from the Bilingual Syntax Measure, which was first published to test children's language acquisition or dominance.[1]

After transcribing these tapes in 242 pages of converstaion, I looked at all the ways each learner dealt with negation. Except for their "no" responses to questions, I looked at how they negated sentence elements. I found that regardless of language background, don't was the one most popular negating devise of each of these learners. The many contexts in which they use this negator and the general lack of using doesn't and didn't indicate that, for most of them, this don't is an unanalyzed form, i.e. it is not an English auxiliary plus the negative, but a general negative marker which will require further analysis.[2]

In order to introduce these learners and their uses of don't, I have

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[1] Marina K. Burt, Heidi C. Dulay and Eduardo Ch. Hernando, Bilingual Syntax Measure (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Jovanovich, 1975).

[2] See the discussion on negation in Section III, pages 51-63.

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gathered some examples of their speech into the following narrative of their individual concerns and circumstances. At the end of this section I have included summary charts of the alternative forms of negation which they utilized during the five weeks of this project.

DON'T
A VERY POPULAR NEGATOR

Based on conversations with

Chu, Chinese
Sesillia, Korean
Peter, Dominican (and Puerto Rican)
Tita, Dominican
Malith, Dominican

Out of the 562 negative expressions in the free conversations of these five learners, 310 of them involved the use of don't, and 264 of these (approximately 2/3 of all present tense negatives) were expressions in present time. Don't is not reserved exclusively for present time, however; it is also a popular negator of events of the past, with limited usage in the future and contrary-to-fact conditionals.

Uses of Don't in a Past Context. Slightly over 1/3 of the past tense negatives used by these learners are negated by don't. Tita is the only one who does not use this marker in past negative utterances.

Chu, for example, discusses his previous schooling and his progress in English. "I should know better English," he admits, "but in high school I fool around, you know, so I don't go to school. I don't learn." Of particular difficulty in coping with the American way was his nervousness in junior high school

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six years ago because, he says, "I don't speak English and I'm Chinese."

> ..in junior high school I feel very nervous every day, so I don.. I see..I go to see movie myself. I don't have my frien...I don't have friends. All the time I skip school, you know. I mean I don't go.

When I asked Chu, "Do you mean that you don't go to school now?" to emphasize the time of don't for a native speaker, he replied,

> C: In college?
>
> L: Yea.
>
> C: No!
>
> L: Oh.
>
> C: I mea..I..in junior high school because I'm nervous.

Chu's use of don't in these examples is not really surprising. He has not developed past tense markers in his auxiliary-verb system. His use of don't as a negator in a past context is in keeping with his hypotheses about verbs in general: both affirmative and negative are unanalyzed for time.

Chu extends the feelings of alienation he experienced when he first came here to other young Chinese, and he discusses the roots of a social problem, using don't with the past tense clause "when we came:"

> They hang around Chinatown. They become a gangster maybe, you know, because we don't speak English when we came, you know, and if we nervous go to school, why we go?

Chu also talks about the differences between being brought up American and being brought up Chinese. He speaks about one Chinese-American schoolmate's high school demeanor:

> ..during the high school, he don't talk to the Chin..he don't talk Chinese..he don't ha..he don't with Chinese people.

His process of looking for something to negate in the above sentence produces don't $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{talk}\\\text{ha}\\\text{with}\end{matrix}\right\}$ in a past context.

There is also a major difference in the play of young Chinese children and

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young American ones. Referring to his own childhood, Chu recalls:

> And we..we don't have, ah, maybe is cannot suppose to (have) to toy or something. We don't have a toy too many, you know.

For him, playing with toys has an unreal quality. He thinks that having a "G.O. Joe" (sic) doll and imagining "with your hand" is "no fun." He prefers to "real do" things with his friends.

Chu attributes Bruce Lee's former popularity in American Kung Fu audiences to Lee's having known how to balance the differences in these two cultures.

> I think Bruce Lee, he know how to...he smart, you know. He know American way and he know Chinese..and he know Chinese way. He smart.

Chu's theory of Bruce Lee's death, written to him by his Chinese friends in Hong Kong, is that he died because of his fellow actors' jealousy. Upon Lee's return to China from his American successes, the directors had given him all the work, the story goes, and the other actors were desperate for jobs.

> Everybody tell him to do (movie) for him, you know, so the other, ah, actor they don't nobody pay them to do, so....

Chu uses don't 28 times in past expressions. This makes up 43% of his past negative utterances, which also include can't, cannot, am/is/was not, never and four uses of didn't. Interestingly, he uses didn't correctly during his third conversation with me--at a time when he was studying for a mid-term that would include the past tense. In that conversation, he used past tense markers over 50% of the time, a much higher percentage than in his previous or subsequent conversations. His four uses of didn't, then, coincide with his new hypotheses about past tense markers.

In contrast to Chu's use of don't in past time, Sesillia uses don't only once in a past context. She prefers didn't, doesn't, couldn't and never in her past negative utterances.

Peter uses don't in 50% of his past negative utterances. When he explains his background, he says:

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...so I don't live in my country too much time because I go to Puerto Rico after five year.

Peter also narrates an incident when a friend of his got into trouble with a group of rival peers. He came to Peter for help. He swore to Peter, "I don't ..I don't do nothing."

Tita, of the same nationality if not linguistic background as Peter, uses didn't, no, never and never..nothing to negate past events, but she never uses don't in this context. Malith, the third Dominican, changes didn't to don't to refer to the past under test conditions. I asked him what happened to the apples which were on the floor in the last series of pictures on the Bilingual Syntax Measure, and he said:

When the king didn't see his..don't see his chicken, he..his drop the apples.

Otherwise, Malith uses didn't (54%), can't (30%) and no (8%) to negate past events.

Malith's use of didn't for negating past events rises to 71% in his last conversation, indicating that his uses of don't are at least partially analyzed as auxiliary + negative, rather than an unanalyzed general negator. Chu shows this same shift from an unanalyzed use of don't in his first two conversations to a more analyzed use when he includes didn't in his past tense negation in the third and fourth conversations. Chu, however, continues to use don't in many contexts where is is not called for in his fifth conversation, and drops his use of didn't. Peter uses didn't twice in his first conversation, but drops this negator in the following three conversations, indicating that he, too, does not have a fully developed sense of don't as an auxiliary-negative form. Both Sesillia and Tita, however, seem to be using a more analyzed form of don't for present time and didn't for past time.

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Uses of Don't in a Future Context. Although Chu uses won't as a future negative, Peter and Tita both use don't. Where a native speaker would use a negative form of be, Peter uses don't:

> No, I don't going to job in September.

and

> So you don't going to the beach?

Tita, however, uses don't "correctly" in an immediate future sense when she refers to an upcoming weekend:

> I don't have anything to do. I don't have any plan. I'm no going anywhere.

Here, the auxiliary 'm is negated by a simple no.

Peter uses don't correctly in a negative command when he warns his friend not to get into trouble again:

> Don't do that. Don't do that anymore because I don't go y talk with nobody.

The third don't in this example is Peter's equivalent to a native speaker's won't. This example also shows a characteristic of most of these five learners--switching from the any- to the no- form of indefinite elements in the sentence.

Uses of Don't in Present Contexts. By far the major use of don't, however, is in the present tense, which is used by these learners over three times more than any other tense. The most popular expressions are those of not knowing. Chu uses all these variations in his don't know constructions:

I don't know
- the way.
- nothing.
- when I be...
- what kind of math.
- how to do it.
- how they do that.
- why.
- if before I was..it was funny.
- yet.
- now.

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The other four learners add these constructions:

I don't know { name. / the date. / that. / where... / how to drive. / about...

I / You } don't know { how is the base. / who him. / bronchi? / loticin (lotion)?

I don't know { why. / how to call it. / what animal call. / what happen going to be now. / how you cally this.

I don't know { what happen. / what this call. / what word when the floor is wet. / Michigan Test what happen with me.

In the analyses of the negative in second language learning, most researchers do not count the "I don't know.." expressions because there is internal evidence that this phrase is picked up as a "learned whole" and is not an example of an auxiliary plus negative preceding a verb. I agree with this assessment, but I also find the sector after that learned whole fascinating. In many cases this sector is filled with an included question, sometimes showing question transformation of the auxiliary, sometimes not. In all these cases together, there are a number of tagmemes in each repertoire.

There are also many other contexts in which these learners use <u>don't</u> in present time. Chu discusses present-day Hong Kong, saying that there are "very lot of poor people. They don't have..they..but they have fun no matter

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how they do." This instance of no matter how is a unique one in Chu's conversations, but it is one of the many negative non-verb expressions he uses. His summary chart at the end of this section indicates the many other tagmemes he uses after no in his expressions. There is a very clear and interesting development to these no + non-verb utterances in Chu's speech. They are listed on his chart in their order of use.

About America, Chu says:

> I don't..I don't like America at all, except the money, but all my family live here, you know, so, uh...

He elaborates on his discussion of the young gangsters in Chinatown. Many of them accept contracts from racketeers and kill people for money. He reports many instances of this phenomenon. "They don't use knife," he says. "They use guns." Chu thinks that their situation breeds this kind of behavior.

> They don't know nothing. They don't have education....And the young person don't know is..they think is fun, you know.

As he comments about another matter later, "Maybe when you small you don't know nothing."

Don't also agrees with a third person singular noun in Chu's transitional dialect. He speaks very emotionally about his female "cousin's" family troubles. This young lady has too many responsibilities in the family laundry and at home because "her mother is crazy." His cousin has to work until four a.m. every morning. Chu comments:

> I mean they don't have to do the laundry at night, but..but this... her mother don't do anything, you know.

Her mother:

> just sit down, you know, don't eat. Her mother don't do nothing.

But, allegedly, her mother does do something; she beats up her daughter. Chu has tried to convince his cousin to move out, as her two younger sisters have

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done, but she "don't listen to nobody." "No, she don't change mind. She don't listen to nobody." Chu is thoughtful in his advice to her saying,

> I mean I don't, ah, tell people, "Just leave," like that, but her mother is crazy and I don't..I don't want her to..I don't want to see her get beat up.

His cousin had finally promised to move out last June, "but finally she don't do (past) what she promise to do, right." One of her sisters "don't go home," and she, too, would be afraid to return home if she left. Chu, however, wants to reconcile this problem. "I mean I don't want her to don't see her father," he explains, using don't as an infinitive negator.

Peter, who participated in this discussion about Chu's cousin, uses don't in an untransformed question, and Chu replies using don't where a native speaker would use isn't.

P: But she don't got, ah, friends?

C: Friends? Yes, she got. I..I'm her friends.

P: But, you know, more friends.

C: No, she don't. She don't good in soci..ah, social life.

Chu finally feels defeated in his attempts to help his cousin. "I think I cannot help her for e..I mean for any more," he says.

At another point, Chu recounts a trip to Florida with five friends. When they were caught by the Florida police with a trunk full of oranges picked from a roadside grove, Chu's smart friend counters the police charge. Chu "corrects" a rare doesn't when he recalls: "He (the smart friend) say, "Doesn't have a sign, you know..don't have a sign over there to say this is the (private property)." He then phrases the policemen's don't in a reported command, "They say, 'Don't do again.'"

Chu also asks one present tense negative question when he tries to get some information about Korean Karate from Sesillia, "You don't know?"

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Sesillia also uses don't in the present, asking me in her only inverted negative question, "Why don't you marry?" Referring to her family, she says, "We don't speak English, only Korean," even though she, her father and brother are studying English currently and her sister is married to an American. Talking about an upcoming family trip to Niagara Falls, Sesillia says:

> I don't know how to drive, but my brother know, my sister know, my brother-in-law know.

Sesillia's major use of don't accompanies know (see page 29, first set of examples).

Although this last example indicates that Sesillia has not analyzed do into does, there are three occasions when she does so correctly in the negative. She seems to have this distinction when she describes her brother. "My brother," she says, "doesn't have enough time." She is referring to how his busy schedule in scientific studies doesn't allow him to relax. "After Master degree," she says,"then he wanna study more. I don't know where about him." I wondered if he had enough time to sit down and talk to her, and in her answer Sesillia plays with doesn't, perhaps partially through imitation:

> L: Maybe he doesn't have enough time to sit down and talk. Or does he?
>
> S: Yea, doesn't he. He doesn't.

In a test situation, however, this third person distinction with doesn't is not used. "He's skinny," she says about a cartoon character in the Bilingual Syntax Measure, "so he don't need big house." It would seem that Sesillia is nearing a systematic stage in her use of doesn't in at least one of her conversations. In the subsequent two, however, she uses doesn't in the past tense.

Peter uses don't accurately in discussing his present life. When asked about his college major, he replied:

> No, I don't work on my curriculum now because I wanna learn English, you know.

He elaborates on his processing of English:

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> I don't got a problem when I going to do some composition in Spanish, but my problem is I compare the..I compare the Spanish. I make the same composition in Spanish and English. I don't change, you know, the..the word..I don't change.

Peter shows a curious (and repeated) reasoning with <u>because</u> when discussing Spanish-speaking girls:

> becau my problem is that becau I don't like the girl what speak Spanish becau I wanna learn English, right.

He tells us that his present girlfriend is of Puerto Rican background:

> From American. From Puerto Rican, but the from Puerto Rican don't speak Spanish, you know.

He seems to add a third singular distinction in his verb <u>speaks</u> in the next example, but he uses <u>don't</u> for negation:

> You know, the Puerto Rican speaks every word in English, but when don't understand something, say, "'Vene ca. ( ) contigo.'"

Aside from girlfriends, Peter thinks t.v. and movies are the best sources of English for him.

> And the radio the t.v. in the morning, yea, pero I don't like the Spanish t.v. cau(se) the Spanish t.v. is...I don't lean on looky the Spanish t.v. I can't..I can't learn is English.

Over the summer of these conversations, Peter developed a concern with his pronunciation and frequently asked about it. Once when I asked him, "Do you have a pronunciation problem now?," he replied:

> I think so I don't have problem I talking with somebody because when I talking everybody (under)stand with me.

Here, he curiously negates the verb <u>have</u> after the phrase "I think so." This device may indicate that Peter has learned "I think so" as a memorized whole and does not understand the auxiliary-negative system of English well enough to negate that phrase itself.

<u>Don't</u> also agrees with Peter's third person singular subjects in all instances. When he speaks about his nine-year-old sister, he says:

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> She ask me some question and when she don't understand something, I do that for her.

His friend who, like Peter, is an usher at a neighborhood theater has a troublesome way of asking people to keep their feet off the seats in front of them. "He don't do it what I do it," Peter says comparing their methods. And during Chu's conversation about his cousin's family problems, Peter was concerned. He offered advice and even his campus psychologist. He got angry at Chu's resignation, accusing him:

> But, alright, you don't wanna help her? You say you don't wanna talk to her. (To me:) He don't..he never talk to her.

Though Peter switched from don't to never in this last example, he did not include any third person ending on the verb talk. Indeed, in his affirmative statements Peter is still in a presystematic stage regarding the third person (doe)s ending, and thus his negative statements are unanalyzed as well. He repeats this use of don't many times, as when he says that his psychologist could easily see Chu's cousin because "he don't got too much appointment. He don't got now."

Peter also uses don't in contexts in which a native speaker would use some form of be. A cartoon character in the Bilingual Syntax Measure is skinny "becau he don't eating." And, when Peter discusses his marital status, he says, "But I don't marry."

Peter also uses don't in negative questions more frequently than any other learner in this study. They are listed here:

You don't
- know
  - the prime?
  - bufi?
  - loticin (lotion)?
  - bronchi, do you?
- use?
- see the people?
- feel good?
- wanna help her?
- got it here?

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Peter's most ironic question, exposing the mishaps of pronunciation and grammar, comes when he asks John Martin, his tutor, about grammar. Peter relates the incident:

> I talk to John, eh, "Hey, John. Oh, why is, eh, what is, eh, housework in the grammar?" He say, "In the what?" I say, "In the grammar." He say..he say, "I don't understand." I say, "You don't understand grammar?!" He say, "No." I thinky he bufi (3) to me, you know.

Peter eventually found out that housework is a noun in the grammar, but it is a more familiar preoccupation for Tita. She uses don't in discussing her mother's present physical condition.

> You know, when she..when the..the weather is like today, she don't feel, you know, she have takey the air outside. She can't stay home.

Because "she don't feel very well," Tita continues, "I no like to she..to do anything in the house," using don't in the third person and relying on no + like to negate the rest of the sentence. Because of her mother's condition, Tita says:

> You know I try to don't give to my mother any problem

using don't to negate an infinitive as Chu did previously. While Tita is in summer school, however, the responsibility for household chores falls on her sister. Tita was unsuccessful in finding a part-time summer job at McDonalds or any supermarket, so she decided on summer school. "I say, 'Well, I don't want to stay home.'" Uncertain about her Michigan Test, taken during the final week of summer school, she remarks, "I don't know what happen going to be now."

Malith is also mystified by the results of his Michigan Test. "I don't know Michigan Test what happen with me because my grade point is, ah, 42." Like Sesillia, a frequent use of don't in his present time expressions is in ones of not knowing (see page 29, last set of examples). He missed many taping sessions during the five week period of this project because he took frequent trips to the airport to pick up Dominican relatives and friends. Malith claims that the

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[3] Bufi, in Peter's definition, is to play with words.

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reason for their visits is "because they don't have water for take a bath, you know," referring to the droughts that plague Dominican cities in the summer.

Under test conditions, Malith "corrects" a no + verb for a third singular subject's negative to don't + verb. The first picture he looked at on the Bilingual Syntax Measure could not be a park because there is a turtle in it and "the turtle no live..don't live in the park." The sailor mopping the deck in the third picture is barefoot. According to Malith:

> He took up..his took up his shoes because he..his don't..don't want, oh, don't like mop with his shoes."

Aside from using don't with the third person, he also uses it in contexts in which a native speaker would use isn't. I asked another question about this same sailor:

> L: Is the man all wet?
>
> M: The man don't all wet because he is clean the floor and he took off his shoes.

Uses of Don't in Contrary-to-fact Contexts.

Aside from negating the present, past and, for some learners, the future, don't is extended to contrary-to-fact expressions by Chu. "If I born here," he says, "I don't have to go to this class, I guess," referring to his ESL class. He expresses a common complaint among students, "I wish they don't give this Michigan Test anymore, you know." And, finally, in discussing a sorrowful Tarot card on which a man is crying about having killed an enemy with the swords hanging on the wall in the background (story made up by Sesillia and Chu), Chu again uses don't in a conditional. I made a suggestion and got this reply:

> L: Maybe the man dreamed about the swords.
>
> C: Yea, but if he dream, if he wa..dream..dreaming the sword..he don't feel so, he's, ah, he not..I mean he don't have to show too upset

because dreams are, after all, imaginery.

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There are, then, many ways of using don't in the transitional dialects of these five learners. All but Sesillia and Tita use it in past contexts, and Chu, Peter and Malith show some analysis of this negative marker in the past when they begin to use didn't. In Chu's case at least, his uses of didn't coincide with his growing awareness of past makrers in affirmative sentences. Thus we can see that a learner's transitional hypotheses can grow and change in a systematic way. They can also be more random, showing less organization, as when Chu drops his use of didn't and picks up don't again, using it for the past as well as other contexts in which it is not necessary.

All of these learners use don't, as we would expect them to, in the present. Only Sesillia and Chu, however, show any present tense analysis of this negator as doesn't or don't. Thus, in the present tense, don't still seems to be a general negating device for most of these learners. Such an unanalyzed negative hypothesis can also be seen to coincide with these learners' hypotheses for affirmative present utterences.

There is also some use of don't where a native speaker would choose a form of be, mainly by Chu, Peter and Malith. And Chu, perhaps because contrary-to-fact expressions are new to him, uses don't where a native speaker would use wouldn't. This may be an example of reaching into his transitional dialect for some solution for an expression for which he does not know the rule.

In the transitional dialects of Chu, Sesillia, Peter, Tita and Malith there are many more options available for negating events in past, present and future time. Each one's variety of negative devices is idiosyncratic and fascinating. The following five pages are charts indicating the number of times and in which temporal contexts they use their alternatives. These charts are a summary of "what the learner knows, what language he uses, what categories and

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systems he works with and what similar or equivalent operations he employs."[4] They simplify and summarize these learners' negative devices over 2 to 5 weeks of conversational samples. They also include each learner's use of "I don't know" in the don't column, a device which is ruled out of my analysis in Section III because of its being a "learned whole." In the third section I have taken my data from more elaborate charts than those on the next five pages. The more elaborate ones are developmental; they rank the uses and contexts of each negator in each separate conversation, while these five charts summarize all conversations together. The developmental charts necessitate much larger paper, and they are very complex and confusing. Although they constitute the organization of the data of my discussion in the following section, they are not printed here because of their complexity.

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[4] Paraphrased from S. Pitt Corder, "Describing," p. 59.

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	don't	doesn't	can't	cannot	am, is, was not	didn't	haven't	won't	never	hardly	not	no
contrary-to-fact	3										she talk copy only really people like.. the high-way Mexico today if with with at all important	body matter how use personal feeling good other light fun more
past	28		1	1	2	4			1			
present perfect							1		1	2		
present	97 / 17 third person	4	1	28	18				11		too deep often much many	
future								2	1			
TOTAL	145	4	2	29	20	4	1	2	14	2	25	16

Chu's alternatives for expressing negation in five conversations.

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	don't	doesn't	can't cannot	am not was not	didn't	couldn't	never	not closet to be a nun	no body nice shoes
past	1	3		1	4	1	1		
present perfect					1		2		
present	28 / 1 third person	3	7	1					
TOTAL	30	6	7	2	5	1	3	2	2

Sesillia's alternatives for expressing negation in five conversations.

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	don't	can't	is not	no is	(ø) not	didn't	havey han	never	don't + ing		
past	7	5	1			2		1		not I now take me every night -ing on the fire Why not?	no Spanish chair -body -thing ear
present perfect	1										
present	73 8 third person	11	1	2	1		2	2	1		
future	2	1 (+ing)	1								
TOTAL	91	17	3	2	1	2	2	3	1	9	5

Peter's alternatives for expressing negation in four conversations.

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	don't	can't	's not 'm	(be) no(t) + Ving	didn't	never	no + V	without	no -thing little heart attack high pressure much big problem yesterday
conditional (pres-fut)					1				
past					9	3	1		
present perfect					1	1			
present	24	1	3	3		1	7	1	
future	2			1					
TOTAL	26	1	3	4	11	5	8	1	8

Tita's alternatives for expressing negation in three conversations.

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	don't	can't	didn't	couldn't	no + V	
past	2	3	6	1	1	no sometime? park sand true
present	12 4 third person				1	
TOTAL	18	3	6	1	2	4

Malith's alternatives for expressing negation in two conversations.

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III. AUXILIARY, NEGATIVE AND QUESTION FORMATION STRATEGIES IN SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNERS

Collection and Analysis of Data. There are many ways to analyze the considerable amount of language data in the 242 pages of conversation between the writer and the five learners introduced in Section II. Two of the most popular techniques are morpheme studies (Dulay and Burt, 1974; Hakuta, 1974; Bailey, Madden and Krashen, 1974) and either cross-sectional or in-depth longitudinal studies of particular linguistic subsystems (Hatch, 1974; Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, 1974a, 1974b and 1975). The five-week study which I undertook might be described as a "short" longitudinal study. Though not as long as the ones mentioned above, it does offer enough data to provide visible changes in linguistic rule-formation over a defined period of time.

I have chosen to discuss three particular subsystems of English: the auxiliary, the negative, and question formation. In discussing these subsystems, I will be asking two questions which relate to the theory described in Section I: Is the interlanguage hypotheses developed by Corder, Nemser, Selinker and others evident in the data? In other words, is learner language systematic, is it different from native language translations, and does it evolve in successive acquisitional stages? And, are there similar or even universal strategies used to acquire the rules of the language?

I have chosen the auxiliary, negative and question formation subsystems because of the major and unique role they play in English and because current analyses of these subsystems have recently been published by Hatch of UCLA (1974) and Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann of Harvard (1974a, 1974b and 1975). The Harvard

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team's rationale for such investigation is that:

> The auxiliary system occupies a crucial position in English grammar. It provides the means for the expression of negation and interrogation and less frequently, for the expression of emphasis. Auxiliaries generally carry semantic information and also mark tense and number. Their essential systematicity and their indespensability in the functioning of the English verb make the study of their development an essential focus for the acquisition of English.[1]

Hatch also points out the relative difficulty with which these subsystems are acquired in comparison to other subsystems of the language (e.g., the noun phrase). Because of this difficulty, their acquisition is gradual and, therefore, fruitful for interlanguage investigation.

> Since Aux development is spread out over a fairly long period, sequential acquisition, if there is any, should be apparent. Because negation and question formation require changes within the Aux, these too were investigated.[2]

As we have seen informally in a few examples in Section II, as learners' language becomes more structured, the learners' analyses of the auxiliary become more specific. The types of negative utterances they can produce is, therefore, increased. Perhaps their understanding of the function of an auxiliary in question formation also shows a similar development.

Description of the linguistic data, even for these subsystems, is difficult. Indeed, although a transitional dialect is "in principle, describable in terms of a set of rules, i.e., it has a grammar,"[3] in practice it is impossible to write a grammar that would encompass the variability of any single learner's utterances. One example might help to emphasize this impossibility: Peter, the

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[1] Herlinda Cancino, Ellen J. Rosansky and John H. Schumann, "The Acquisition of the English Auxiliary by Native Spanish Speakers," paper presented at the 1975 TESOL Conference. (Cambridge: Harvard School of Education, 1975), pp. 2-3. Mimeo.

[2] Evelyn Hatch, "Second Language Learning--Universals?" Working Papers in Bilingualism, no. 3 (Ontario: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1974; reprint edition, 1975), p. 1.

[3] Corder, "Idiosyncratic Dialects," p. 147.

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Spanish-speaking student introduced in Section II who had lived in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, often uses a particular idiosyncracy: he attaches a -y suffix to many verbs. Over the course of four conversations, I could not figure out if this -y stood for it, for a fully pronounced "silent e," an -ing, to or not. He uses it often with some verbs, such as havey, gotty and getty. He sometimes uses it with other verbs, and never uses it with certain other verbs. He first uses it in many temporal contexts, mainly the present tense, but gradually shifts it to past tense usage. At some points, it seems as if this is a "dummy verb ending," used when Peter is unsure of the formation of a verb tense. At other times, it clearly stands for one of the five possibilities mentioned above. He uses three different verb forms after a verb that ends with this -y marker (base form, -ing form, past tense). Such variability for one suffix and its surrounding grammar is neither predictable nor clear enough to state in a grammatical formula. The task of developing a grammar for a whole corpus of speech would be even more fruitless. My description of these three subsystems, as in Section II, is, therefore, a cataloging of the various fillers for these systems and a determination of the frequency and contexts for each one.

Frequency and context of usage are particularly important in this discussion of language development. In the studies I have read, there are two levels of development, called appearance and acquisition, each with different criteria. Appearance of a particular linguistic structure is defined by Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann: the criterion-level for appearance of an auxiliary, for instance, is whether or not the particular auxiliary is present in an obligatory context 80% of the time in three consecutive samples of speech. Further, each sample must have two instances of that particular auxiliary among a total of more than 10 auxiliaries in the speech sample. A particular modal, for which one cannot determine such a definite obligatory context, must be present twice in three

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successive examples. Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann conduct there/not there analyses on the data for these subsystems, not correct/incorrect analyses. In other words, a learner is credited for an auxiliary if it is present even though it might not be correctly furnished with number or tense marker in its context.[4]

Acquisition is a different developmental stage from appearance. Hakuta defines acquisition as the presence of a particular morpheme in 90% of the obligatory contexts in three consecutive samples of speech. He also scores morphemes as P (present), A (absent), OG (overgeneralization), and X (incorrectly supplied) according to procedures set up by Brown, Cazden and de Villiers, but his paper does not report on the "X-ratings" of his five-year-old Japanese subject.[5] Bailey, Madden and Krashen also use the same criterion-level for acquisition in their study of the eight morphemes tested on the Bilingual Syntax Measure.[6]

Obligatory context is well-defined by Dulay and Burt in their discussion of scoring on the Bilingual Syntax Measure:

> Most verbal utterances that consist of more than one morpheme create occasions where certain functors are required. For example, in the utterance 'She is dancing' a mature native speaker of English would never omit the functor -ing because it is obligatory that -ing be attached to any verb when expressing a present progressive action. When a child (or a second language learner--addition mine) speaks a language he is still learning, he will create obligatory occasions for functors in his utterances, but he may not furnish the required forms. He may omit them, as in 'He like hamburgers,' where the third person indicative is missing, or he may misform them, as in 'They do hungry,' where

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[4]Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, "The Acquisition of the English Auxiliary," p. 3.

[5]Kenji Hakuta, "A Preliminary Report on the Development of Grammatical Morphemes in a Japanese Girl Learning English as a Second Language," Working Papers in Bilingualism, p. 25.

[6]Nathalie Bailey, Carolyn Madden and Stephen D. Krashen, "Is There a 'Natural Sequence' in Adult Second Language Learning?", Language Learning 24: 235.

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> something was supplied for the copula, but it wasn't quite the right thing.[7]

Dulay and Burt scored eleven functors of morphemes of English as test items. If no functor was supplied, the child's score was '0'; if it was supplied but misformed, the score was '1'; if it was supplied correctly, the score was '2'. The two examples in the citation above would each be scored as '1'. Bailey, Madden and Krashen used the same ratio of scoring for the eight morphemes they tested for when using the Bilingual Syntax Measure with adults. This kind of scoring is somewhat of a compromise between a there/not there analysis and a correct/incorrect one, and it can be best conducted, I think, on a limited range of material such as the Bilingual Syntax Measure.

I have departed from the above criterion-levels and scoring procedures in two ways. In organizing the data for the subsystems under study, I used a scoring matrix. I wrote the auxiliaries used by each speaker across the top of the matrix for that particular conversation, and I wrote the "meaning" of the auxiliary down the side of the matrix. If a speaker supplied is in "She is working last night," for instance, I scored a "1" for is under the is column and in the was row. If there was any doubt about the meaning of an auxiliary, I did not enter it on the matrix at all. If the speaker supplied, "She working last night," however, I entered a "Ø" in the junction of the was column and the was row on the matrix. Once a matrix for a conversation had been completely filled in, I could easily determine the number of obligatory occasions for was or any other auxiliary by adding up the "1s" and the "Øs" in the row for that auxiliary. The number of correct auxiliaries supplied could easily be seen in the junction of the row and column for that particular auxiliary. Thus, it was easy to arrive at

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[7] Heidi C. Dulay and Marina K. Burt, "Natural Sequences in Child Second Language Acquisition," Working Papers in Bilingualism, p. 53.

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a percentage of correctly supplied auxiliaries in all contexts which were obligatory for those auxiliaries. I arrived at this procedure because I had different purposes in analyzing this data from the purposes of those who made a there/not there analysis. A speaker, for instance, had used was five times as an auxiliary in one conversation. In determining the percentage of usage of was, I thought I should include all the obligatory contexts for was in that conversation, even though the speaker might have filled those contexts with another auxiliary. Otherwise, it seems to me, each speaker would score a 100% usage of was, but the entire set of obligatory contexts for that auxiliary would not have been taken into account. I would have obtained more impressive figures, but I would know very little about these learners' mastery of the grammar they need for college work.

The type of data organization I used, then, determines the correct/incorrect analysis which I report below. I am also interested in whether or not these learners have a healthy concept of auxiliary position(s), and of which auxiliaries they tend to overgeneralize. I can determine these things by looking down the columns of each matrix without regard for obligatory occasions. But for my purposes, and I believe those of my colleagues, I need to know how much control students are gaining over correct English usage. I believe the percentages I have found reflect this control and are more useful in this applied interlanguage study than a there/not there analysis. The other researchers mentioned in this section, however, had different purposes from mine. Except for Dulay and Burt's subjects, their learners were natural learners (i.e., they were not, nor had they been in instruction), and their interest in these reports is in the sequence of acquisition.

Because of the more difficult criteria used in determining the percentages for my students, I have chosen to add another criterion-level to the categories

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of appearance and acquisition. I will call this category usage, and its criteria will be:

1. those auxiliaries which appear in over 80% of two samples of conversation, but for which there is only one example in the other consecutive sample;

2. those auxiliaries which appear in over 80% of three samples, but the samples are not consecutive.

I wish to discuss the category usage because, as you can see from the criteria, certain auxiliaries may be used correctly in some samples, but there may not have been obligatory occasions for then in the consecutive samples surrounding them. I did not in any way try to elicit certain morphemes in the conversations with these learners, and I don't believe that a learner's lack of using them consectuively necessarily means avoidance of that morpheme; an obligatory occasion for a particular morpheme may just not have come up. My study is also a relatively short one. If it had been continued, the auxiliaries that are used in this short study might have been the next to appear or be acquired in a longer study of these same learners.

As I have stated previously, the conversations between these five learners and me were entirely spontaneous. In some cases they were one-to-one conversations; in others, a third or even fourth person in the group of learners walked into the room and was invited to join us by the learner who was then speaking. I undertook a project with this kind of spontaneous discussion because I wanted to study each learner's production grammar in a freer situation than those I had normally offered in the classroom. I also wanted to study their transitional dialects in a meaningful performance situation, i.e., one in which they attempt to express meanings they may already have in the language which they are learning (see the discussion regarding Selinker's views on page 14).

There are, however, many other methods for eliciting data in longitudinal

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studies of this sort. Two popular ones are translation of material from a learner's first language into English, and imitation of a structure the "tester" uses. These two elicitation techniques are based on the theory that learners will translate or imitate with the grammar available to them in their transitional dialects. A third type of elicitation is that which is set up on the Bilingual Syntax Measure where the tester asks questions about a picture. The questions are designed to elicit certain structures, but, indeed, students often respond in different ways than anticipated, and their responses are then scored according to the obligatory contexts which are created by the responses themselves.

Another kind of experimental elicitation is when the learner is asked to perform a certain operation, such as negation, on a sentence offered by the tester. Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann also collected speech samples in another type of free setting: they took their subjects to various places in Cambridge and Boston and, thus, their data also contains the speech of learners in varied cultural situations. They call these samples socio-linguistic interaction.[8]

Although techniques of direct translation and socio-linguistic interaction were not used in my study, there are examples of imitation and experimental elicitation in the transcripts. Imitation of a phrase or a word often occurred in the context of our discussions, as can be seen in the following short excerpts.

Peter is describing a doctor's testing of his reflexes:

P: He (the doctor) say, "Okay, thas all right," becau when he hit me, hit me like this and my arm with that....

L: Yes, with the little hammer.

P: With a little hammer. I say...he say, "Oh, you right. After now, you right."

* * *

[8]Ellen J. Rosansky, John H. Schumann and Herlinda Cancino, "Second Language Acquisition: The Negative," paper presented at the 1974 LSA Summer Meeting in Amherst, Mass. (Cambridge: Harvard School of Education, 1974), p. 1. Mimeo.

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Peter is talking about what he wants to say to the campus psychologist:

P: Yea, I want talk to him why I want live alone. Indespen...you know indespen?

L: Right, independent.

P: Independent.

Or a more creative type of imitation took place where a learner used the words of my (or another learner's) utterance in his/her own contexts:

Peter says:

P: So I talk with my friend, ah, Jose. You don't know who him...

L: He's in your class this semester.

P: Yea, he in my class.

* * *

I am referring to Sesillia's brother:

L: Maybe he doesn't have time to sit down and talk. Or does he?

S: Yes, doesn't he. He doesn't.

* * *

Between Peter and Chu:

P:. But, ah, where you from?

C: Where I from? Hong Kong.

* * *

And, in a conversation with Chu, I am referring to a cruel situation which his cousin's parents set up for her:

L: Were they playing a joke?

C: Yea, they playing a joke.

I also used the experimental elicitation techniques of the Bilingual Syntax Measure when I tested these learners during their final conversation with me.

Many of these techniques of data collection enable the researcher to avoid the lengthy process of transcribing free conversation. Swain, Duman and Naimon discuss some of these alternative data collection techniques as ways to avoid

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the frustration of collecting spontaneous data.

> Assuming that the researcher's goal is to verify the stage of acquisition of a specific syntactic rule, the researcher is likely to encounter a great deal of frustration trying to collect relevant spontaneous speech data, particularly if the rule is not yet in the child's production grammar. Needless to say, this problem is particularly serious when the subject has developed alternative means of expression in order to avoid the use of a rule perceived to be difficult.[9]

My goal in this study was not to verify the stage of acquisition of a specific syntactic rule. I was interested in what learners know, what language they use, what categories and systems they work with and what equivalent operations they use when they're avoiding a particular operation. I wanted spontaneous data which would contain many different operations. Now that I have analyzed the data for specific subsystems, however, I do see these alternative techniques as excellent ones for focusing on specific acquisition. They are also methods which yield "a maximum amount of information concerning second language competence with a minimum of effort."[10]

The Development of the Auxiliary in the Positive Statements of Second Language Learners. Three of the studies mentioned above discuss the acquisition of the auxiliary in children learning English as a Second Language. Hatch's comments (1974) summarize the findings of fifteen observational studies of forty second-language learners who were acquiring English naturally. Only one of the learners is an adult. Hatch has organized the data into eight developmental stages as follows:

1. No copula (Ø copula)
2. The use of the verb without auxiliary

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[9] Merrill Swain, Guy Dumas and Neil Naiman, "Alternatives to Spontaneous Speech: Elicited Translation and Imitation as Indicators of Second Language Competence," Working Papers in Bilingualism, pp. 68-9.

[10] Ibid., p. 68.

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3. Dummy verbs which are two or three verbs which learners used to cover many verb meanings. They function as fillers for the verb slot. Examples are get, wanna and do.

4. Be appears, first as is and then as 'm and 're (copula)

5. Aspect first appears as -ing

   a. beginning without the auxiliary

   b. then the auxiliary is developed as 'm and is, but the -ing is dropped.

   c. some learners acquire the going to future at this time; others acquire it much later. The addition of this form usually causes a resorting through all the forms previously acquired. There is more deletion of the be auxiliary and some confusion as to where the -ing marker should go.

6. Modal acquisition varies greatly among learners. Some acquire can/can't or will/won't at this point, but it varies as to whether they acquire the negative first or second. There is no obvious ordering for modal acquisition.

7. Tense acquisition on the main verb also varies. Some learners learned past tense first; others learned present tense first; others left the verb unmarked during the two years of observation. Still others learned present and past at the same time, with a little more difficulty marking the third person singular present than marking the -ed past.

8. Perfects with (have + en) were used rarely if at all, and they usually had tense or participle "errors." [11]

Hakuta, studying a five-year-old Japanese girl learning English in natural settings, conducted a morpheme analysis on 14 morphemes. Of these, seven deal with the categories of copula and auxiliary. He collected her spontaneous and elicited speech in a longitudinal study, and he reports on twenty samples of speech that were collected over a forty-week period. Her order of acquisition of auxiliaries was the following:

1. Copula (am, is and are) and be auxiliary (am, is and are) were acquired at the same time.

2. The past auxiliary (did and didn't) in negative, question and short answers was acquired next.

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[11] Hatch, p. 3.

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During these forty weeks there were examples of the past irregular, the past regular, the third person singular present and the going to future, but Hakuta's subject did not acquire these morphemes according to the criteria for appearance or acquisition. The modal auxiliaries are not part of his study.[12]

Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1974b and 1975) also studied the natural acquisition of the English auxiliary and copula in native Spanish speakers. One of their subjects was an adult. They found that the order of appearance for all but their adult subject was: is (copula) and then can. The adult did not acquire can during the study, but he did show the appearance of other auxiliaries. Beyond is and can, the order of appearnace for auxiliaries in declarative sentences is highly variable. Their results contrast with Dulay and Burt's studies using the Bilingual Syntax Measure, which show an invariant order of acquisition for 11 morphemes among 115 second-language-learning children of Spanish and Chinese background.[13]

The five learners in my study, all of whom were under instruction, also showed variability in the order of usage, appearance and acquisition of auxiliaries in positive sentences. In five weekly samples, Chu, the Chinese speaker, includes 18 auxiliaries and shows:

acquisition of is (copula) and could

appearance of will

usage of 'm (copula)

Sesillia, the Korean speaker, includes 11 auxiliaries and shows:

usage of is (copula), was (copula), and will

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[12] Hakuta, p. 26.

[13] Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, "The Acquisition of the English Auxiliary," p. 4. And, "Testing Hypotheses about Second Language Acquisition: The Copula and Negative in Three Subjects," Working Papers in Bilingualism, no. 3, p. 82-5.

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Peter, the Spanish speaker from the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, includes 12 auxiliaries and shows:

acquisition of the base form present in commands

appearance of is (copula)

Usage of can and will

Tita, from the Dominican Republic, includes 10 auxiliaries and shows:

usage of is (copula) and can

And Malith, the third Dominican, spoke with me only twice in the five week period. Since the criteria for usage, appearance and acquisition require at least three samples of speech, I can only report the percentage of his correct auxiliaries in the two samples I have. Out of six auxiliaries, he shows the potential for acquisition in only one:

is (copula) 100% and 95% correct in two samples

The results of Peter's and Tita's speech samples seem to confirm Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann's findings that Spanish speakers learn is (copula) and then can before other auxiliaries. Except for Malith, whose high percentages predict the acquisition of is (copula), all the Spanish speakers show is at at least the usage level; in Peter's speech it appears and in Tita's it is used. Both Peter and Tita show the usage of can; one might predict that can may be the next auxiliary to appear for both of them. Peter also seems to be moving toward the sixth stage of Hatch's description (1974) in which can and will appear at about the same time.

Although is (copula) also ranks high for Chu and Sesillia (acquired by Chu and used by Sesillia), the other auxiliaries they show are variable and depart from the order reported in the other studies above. Will ranks high for both of them. Unlike the Spanish speakers, however, they do not use can. Sesillia shows it only once in the entire five week period, and Chu consistently shows could where a native speaker would use can.

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Perhaps more surprising than the order, or the lack of similar order, of auxiliaries by these five students is the small number of auxiliaries that they use correctly. All of these students except Malith spent part of their high school career in New York and have also been here for more than two years. At the time of this study, all of them had taken two or three semesters of ESL at Bronx Community College. Only two auxiliaries are acquired, both of them by Chu. Two more appear, and eight are used: a total of 12 auxiliaries that these five learners have some degree of control over!

The Development of Negation by Second Language Speakers. There are three studies on negation which I have read in the process of analyzing my data on negation. The primary study is that of Klima and Bellugi which outlines three stages of development of the negative in children whose native language is English. The three stages are the following:

Stage I: There are no negatives within an utterance, nor are there auxiliaries. All negatives are preposed before an utterance. (No the sun shining; No mitten.)

Stage II: Here Klima and Bellugi found the first embedding of negatives within an utterance and the first uses of auxiliaries within a negative utterance. No and not appear before the main verb. There are many uses of don't, especially in imperatives, and some uses of can't and didn't. Stage I negatives are still used.

This stage does not presume full analysis of the auxiliary. At the same time, the children studied were not using the auxiliary in declarative sentences or in Yes/No questions.

Stage III: This stage marks the appearance of the first overt tense markers in negative utterances and the expansion of the modal system. There is also subject-auxiliary agreement. There are didn't, don't and doesn't along with can't, won't, isn't wasn't, weren't and other auxiliary-negative patterns. [14]

Klima and Bellugi considered the phrase "I don't know" a holophrastic utterance

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[14] E.S. Klima and Ursula Bellugi, "Syntactic Regularities in the Speech of Children," Psycholinguistic Papers: Proceedings of the 1966 Edinburgh Conference, ed., J. Lyons and R. J. Wales (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966), 183-219.

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and thus did not include it in their data. They also ruled out tag questions and negative questions, treating any negatives in question formation as separate from negation in general.

Milon (1975) has recently found the development of negation in a seven-year-old Japanese boy who is learning English in Hawaii to be similar to these three stages,[15] and Hatch (1974) reports a somewhat similar developmental sequence for second-language-learning children. She summarizes negation for forty second-language learners in fifteen different two-year studies by the following six stages:

1. Generally preposed negation with no or not and a few examples of postposed negation. Early routine formula include "I don't know" or "Don't" and a few imperatives with no preposed.

2. The negative is then embedded within the utterance in three ways:
   a. without a copula or auxiliary
   b. before a copula or auxiliary
   c. before a modal or the main verb.

   Again, the negative is most frequently no with a few examples of not. The exceptions to these sequences are a few instances in which no or not come after the verb, copula or entire utterance. Don't imperatives also appear at this point in her data.

3. Negation for can begins immediately as can't for some learners but as no can for others. There are even examples of no can't and can can't.

4. Don't comes into negative statements at this stage, but it seems that both don't and can't are more negative markers than the real auxiliaries do or can plus negation.

5. Genuine do-support begins when children use doesn't as well as don't. At this stage they also show a lot of double negation with indefinite elements of a sentence (nobody, nothing, etc.). None of the examples listed includes didn't, the other element of full do-support.

6. A few subjects also show understanding of the aux-neg pattern by attaching not to have + en examples, but once again this forces errors on the participle, such as "I haven't do it." 16

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[15] John P. Milon, "The Development of Negation in English by a Second Languge Learner, TESOL Quarterly 8 (1974): 137-143.

[16] Hatch, p. 5.

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Hatch does not include any examples of didn't, wasn't, weren't, aren't or isn't so that Stage II of Klima and Bellugi's hypothesized stages is not really reached by the subjects in her report. Her stages also seem to be sequence studies rather than studies using the criteria-levels for appearance and acquisition. The general order her report suggests is: preposed negation; negation before copula, auxiliary or verb; negation attached to modals or auxiliaries as "negative markers"; and finally, some evidence of do-support with negation.

Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1974a) study the appearance of the negative in five natural second-language speakers with Spanish-speaking backgrounds. Only one of these was an adult, and he showed no apparent development of negation beyond their first two descriptive categories. They report the following sequential stages:

1. No V, a device used by these speakers which is similar to negation in Spanish.

2. Don't V, which occurs at the same time or shortly after no V. Both of these appear to be negative markers carrying a range of meaning for which a native speaker would use other auxiliaries. There are no examples of doesn't or didn't at this stage, so don't V appears to be an unanalyzed form of negation (in Hatch's words, it lacks do-support). This is, perhaps, a "more English" version of no V.

3. Other auxiliaries with negative following them are then used. Usually is + neg or no is and can + neg or no can are used here.

4. Analyzed forms of don't, including doesn't and didn't, begin to appear concurrently with stage 3. It seems that "the learner has discovered that the English negative is formed by placing the negative particle after the auxiliary." It is this fourth stage that seems to precede and trigger the fifth.

5. Concentrated use of the aux-neg system. [17]

In another paper on negation in which Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann report on only three of these five subjects (1974b), they take exception to Klima and

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[17] Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, "Second Language Acquisition: The Negative," pp. 4-9.

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Bellugi's three stages. Stage I is not evidenced in their findings on children learning English as a second language. They found few examples of preposed negation, and when they did, they explained the examples as a missing subject (implied by the verb in Spanish) and ∅ copula rather than as preposed negation. The example "No wood", for instance, is glossed by them as "It is not wood." Many of Klima and Bellugi's examples could be glossed in the same way, but they did not do so. In the data of Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, there were also many other examples of early negating strategies which Klima and Bellugi did not find at this early stage. No is is the prime example, not evident in Klima and Bellugi's descriptive stages but abundant in the Harvard team's data. Likewise, the Harvard team did not find frequent use of the don't imperative or of can't as Klima and Bellugi did in Stage II. Although Klima and Bellugi found a full realization of the aux-negative system in Stage III, the Harvard team reports no development of tenses, subject-auxiliary agreement or other aux-neg patterns in this paper on three Spanish speakers learning English. Their subjects' utterances do not fit into Stages I, II or III, nor do they follow a similar developmental pattern.[18]

One finding shared by Hatch and the Harvard team clarifies the popularity of don't in the data of three of the five learners I studied. As you have read in Section Two, don't is used in a wide range of temporal contexts by these students, and for some don't "means" other auxiliaries. It is indeed an early form of negation for all of them, and it appears long before other auxiliaries or the analyzed forms of don't appear. Don't is an unanalyzed negative marker for Chu, Peter and Malith. Sesillia and Tita show at least partial analysis of this negator by including other do-support forms in negation.

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[18] Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, "Testing Hypotheses," pp. 7-14.

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Discounting the acquisition of "I don't know" as a learned-whole and using the previously-stated criteria-levels for usage, appearance and acquisition, I have found the following from my project data:

Among 20 different ways of negating, Chu's speech shows,

- acquisition of don't as an unanalyzed form of negation. His first and second conversations also include don't with indefinite elements in double negation. In his third and fourth conversations, he shows didn't and doesn't four times each, but according to the criteria these two forms of do-support do not register in a category. It does seem, however, that Chu is moving toward a more analyzed use of don't.

- acquisition of no and not before non-verb elements in a sentence. These aspects of negation are not reported on in the other studies above. Chu, however, shows a clear development in these categories and enough of them to constitute an important style in negation.

- usage of cannot. This is a particularly interesting phenomenon because Chu does not use can in affirmative statements; he uses could instead. There is only one example of a could negative in his conversations, and that is Nobody could....

Sesillia's negation appears to be very organized. Among nine different ways of negating, she shows,

- usage of don't as an analyzed form. Sesillia seems to be a rule organizer. Even on the level of usage, her don't is supported by doesn't (six times) and didn't (five times).

- usage of cannot. Sesillia does not show any ranking of can in her affirmative statements although this auxiliary is evidenced.

Among 10 ways of negating, Peter shows,

- acquisition of don't V as an unanalyzed form, with only two examples of didn't and none of doesn't in four samples.

- acquisition of Don't V! imperatives. Peter is the only learner in this study who uses imperatives frequently.

- usage of can't

Five of Peter's no/not + non-verb element patterns could be considered preposed negation, or as Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann analyze it, a missing subject,

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Ø copula and, in some cases, a missing article. The rest of the data on Peter also conforms to Klima and Bellugi's description of a native-speaking child's Stage II of negation. He is the only learner in this study who shows such a similarity to native-speaking children's development. Peter would also be described by any of his teachers as a "remedial learner" in the sense that he has many learning difficulties. His speech is also more difficult to understand and correct than that of other learners. An interesting hypothesis for further investigation is that "remedial" ESL learners may show more similarities with the strategies and processes of first-language-learning children than with those of other ESL learners.[19]

Among 10 ways of negating, Tita shows,

acquisition of didn't, followed either by the base form or the past tense form of the verb.

examples of preposing, no + V and a partially analyzed don't + V below the criteria-levels of this study.

Malith shows six ways of negating in two language samples. They are, in order of frequency:

don't V	11	67% and 83% of obligatory occasions
didn't V	6	100% and 71%
no + non-verb	4	
can't V	3	not correctly used
couldn't V	1	not correctly used

Some of the examples of no or not before non-verb elements given by these learners could be interpreted as preposed negation or glossed as (missing subject it) + (Ø copula) $\pm$ (missing article) + (noun). Only the Spanish speakers show

[19]This is a working hypothesis communicated to me by Steve Krashen in personal conversation.

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evidence of no V, but this evidence is so infrequent (except for Tita's speech) that it hardly bears mentioning except that it may be a remnant from an earlier stage of learning as the Harvard team's sequence suggests. Peter has acquired the unanalyzed don't and the Don't V! imperative; Chu has acquired don't V first as an unanalyzed form greatly overgeneralized, but he also shows a few analyzed examples of doesn't and didn't, an indication of his moving toward an analyzed don't. This sequence of development, however, is dropped in his final conversation. Sesillia uses a more analyzed don't V quite correctly, while showing doesn't and didn't almost as frequently but not as correctly. Tita has acquired didn't V before anything else. This renders her don't V examples at least partially analyzed, but she still shows an occasional no V. Malith, whose negatives cannot be categorized because his data lacks three samples, is slightly below predictable appearance levels for didn't V and don't V.

Chu, Sesillia and Peter use can't V or cannot V as might be expected from the research reported above. None of these learners uses other auxiliaries or modals in negation.

The Development of Question Formation in Second Language Learners. Two of the studies I have read deal with question formation in second language learners. Hatch again reports a developmental sequence:

1. Rising intonation is first used without any auxiliary inversion or wh-fronting.
2. This is supplemented by tag questions of the "..., no?" or "....., okay?" variety by many subjects.
3. Wh-questions begin with wh-fronting
   a. before the copula has been developed
   b. before do appears in questions, since there is generally no do-support at this stage.
   c. a few subjects tried copula inverstion at this stage, but also left the copula in its sentence position (Where's Mark is school?) Others were successful at copula inversion with is.
   d. And, at the same time, three subjects showed successful can inversion in Yes/No questions.

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4. A few subjects tried verb inversion (Like you ice cream?)

5. Be inversion (am, is, are) in Yes/No and Wh-questions appears before:

6. Do inversion or the uninverted appearance of do.

7. Rising intonation, avoiding all inversion, remains the preferred question form for all learners.

8. Some embedded questions appear with "I don't know," usually showing be inversion in the embedded question.[20]

This sequence is not universal for all the subjects she reports on, however, since many children showed intermediate steps along the continuum of these developmental stages.

In first language acquisition, Klima and Bellugi (1966) found what they termed a Stage C in question formation in which Yes/No questions are uninverted but Wh-questions are not. Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann tested this hypothesis for second language learners. In doing so, they asked the following five questions and came up with the answers reported below.

1. Do Wh-questions appear in the untransposed form?

   Looking at all Wh-questions for all auxiliaries in all subjects, the answer was yes.

2. Do untransposed Wh-questions appear prior to transposed?

   All Wh-questions for all auxiliaries in each subject indicate no.

3. Do untransposed Yes/No questions appear?

   Totalling all interrogative auxiliaries for all subjects, the answer was yes.

4. Do untransposed Yes/No questions appear prior to transposed?

   No for all subjects.

5. Does Klima and Bellugi's Stage C exist for these learners?

   No for all subjects and all auxiliaries.

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[20] Hatch, p. 6.

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6. Is there an opposite stage to Stage C, where Wh-questions are inverted and Yes/No questions are not?

   Except for one subject, the answer was no.[21]

The Harvard team summarized the development of the interrogative in this way:

> Both Y/N and Wh-questions appear in the untransposed form, but there is no stage in which the untransposed form is consistently prior to the transposed. There is also no stage in which transposed Y/N questions precede transposed Wh-questions or vice versa. In general, however, transposition is more frequent in wh-questions (which might be expected because it is here that transposition is obligatory in adult English). ...From the beginning interrogatives appear in both the transposed and untransposed forms. And for some subjects, transposition appears to be more frequent in later development.[22]

Posing the same questions for my data produces different answers:

1. Do Wh-questions appear in the untransposed form?

   In general, no. Out of 88 Wh-questions from four learners (Malith has none), only 2% are untransposed. 54% lack auxiliaries so there can be no question of transposition, and 44% are transposed.

2. Do untransposed Wh-questions appear prior to transposed?

   No, since they hardly appear. Wh-questions lacking auxiliaries do not appear before those with auxiliaries, either.

3. Do untransposed Yes/No questions appear?

   Except for one learner, yes. Out of 82 Yes/No questions for all five learners, 29% of them are untransposed, but 1/3 of these are tag questions which do not require transposition. 49% of them lack an auxiliary, so there is no question of transposition. 22% are transposed. Sesillia is the only learner who has no untransposed yes/no questions, but she does ask two without auxiliaries.

4. Do untransposed Yes/No questions appear prior to transposed?

   No.

5. Does Klima and Bellugi's Stage C, in which Y/N questions are inverted and Wh-questions are not, exist for these learners?

   No.

6. Is there a stage opposite Stage C?

   No.

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[21] Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann, "The Acquisition of the English Auxiliary," p. 9.

[22] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

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In summary for these five learners, the majority of Wh-questions (54%) and Yes/No questions (49%) lack auxiliaries altogether. When auxiliaries do appear, they are transposed in all but two Wh-questions and in a minority of Yes/No questions. I am surprised that my data show such a frequent lack of auxiliaries when Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann do not mention this phenomenon. Perhaps they included the "Ø auxiliary" questions in the category of untransposed questions, or perhaps they disregarded "Ø auxiliary" questions, but such an analysis would seem to mask an important aspect of interrogative formation in second language learning.

In my data, there is no stage in which lack of an auxiliary precedes untransposed questions, nor a stage in which untransposed questions precede transposed. My results agree with Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann's in that transposition is more frequent in Wh-questions than in Yes/No questions.

An interesting aspect of my data is also not brought out by the above six questions. There are other kinds of questions made by each of these learners. I categorize these other questions in two groups: One-and-two-word Wh-questions (What? When? Why? What else? Water what?) and Questions made from a word or a phrase (This weekend? In the last Thursday? After the school? No? Wet?). Each learner uses some of these, and, indeed, so do native speakers. These types of questions take on a different significance, however, in Sesillia's data. Sesillia shows the following kinds and frequencies of questions:

Transposed Yes/No questions	5	(can, do)
(Ø aux) Yes/No questions	1	(do)
Tag questions	2	(..., right? ..., you see?)
Untransposed Yes/No questions	0	
Transposed Wh-questions	6	
(Ø aux) Wh-questions	1	(does)

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Untransposed Wh-questions	0
One-and-two-word Wh-questions	10
Questions made from a word or phrase	14

These last two categories of questions are the most significant groups in the data for Sesillia. Including them in a discussion of her question-formation strategies changes the focus away from the question of transposition or the lack of transposition. Sesillia does not forget to transpose; she is a very careful speaker. She will, however, omit an occasional auxiliary in question formation (significantly the most difficult, do and does). Further, she will protect herself by not venturing into full question development, into the question of transposition or not, if she is not sure. She has a full repertoire of questions which any listener can understand and which do not have any auxiliary territory in them. Some of these are: What? What day? Baby what? Why? and Already? Me? In the B.C.C. High School? Karate? Clothes shop? Although many of them are questions about pronunciation and entirely appropriate, such reduced questions are clear and useful alternatives to Sesillia's more fully developed question formation.

Although Peter also shows 20 of these reduced questions, his question generation is far more prolific than that of any other learner, and the 20 do not claim a large percentage of his questions. Chu, Tita and Malith also show a small percentage of these reduced questions.

Conclusions. It is difficult to draw conclusions for this section which is filled with many researchers' data that is organized in slightly different ways. There are, however, some general statements which can be made. I believe that the interlanguage hypothesis developed in Section One is evident in these learners' strategies. Their speech is systematic in its development, if only in the sense that they are using recognizable strategies. As the structure

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each learner's language grows over two, three, four or five conversations, there are more affirmative auxiliaries, more different types of negation and more developed use of auxiliaries in question formation. Chu's data forms the clearest picture of language development as he works with more categories and systems that the other learners do. Peter also develops more alternatives for expression in his four conversations. These five learners, of course, are not at the same stages of language proficiency.

There are also similar strategies used to acquire rules among these learners. Chu and Peter show the greatest amount of overgeneralization and experimentation. The Spanish-speaking learners share some aspects of auxiliary sequence and strategies, especially evident in their use of is (copula) and can and in their negation. When new auxiliaries are used, many of these learners show a resorting through forms that were previously more stable in their transitional dialects. The Spanish-speakers, especially, show some similarity to certain stages of development expressed in the studies of Klima and Bellugi (1966), Hatch (1974) and Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1974a, 1974b and 1975). Peter is the only one who exhibits close similarities with one stage of the development of native-English-speaking children's speech. At the same time that there are similarities between some learners, however, there is not an invariant order of acquisition for these five learners or even for the three Spanish speakers.

This view of these five learners' production grammars also indicates two major strategies that are used by second language learners. Some of them, in particular Sesillia, seem to be rule learners or data organizers. Sesillia is careful and exact; her data does not show a lot of overgeneralization. Indeed, she is careful to avoid areas of language that she is unsure of. Rule learning can also be seen in the development of certain auxiliaries for Chu, Peter, Tita

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and Malith, but it is less of a clear, overall strategy for them. Malith also exhibits a greatly reduced dialect, attempting only a few temporal contexts and auxiliaries.

The other strategy is that of data gathering. Hatch (1974) explains this term in reference to a particular child:

> At no point can one say now he has this rule. If one used a 75%, 80% or 90% criterion for appropriate use in obligatory cases...,we could only say he's acquired nothing. Yet his speech becomes more and more fluent, more and more forms appear although nothing seems to be sorted out.[23]

She summarizes the two different strategies in this way:

> Some people begin organizing or sorting their data almost before they start collecting; others gather and gather and the organization or sorting out seems to be minimal as they go along. Yet both types of learners seem to function well. Sorting, even for data gatherers, seems to go on but not in a way that's always obvious to us. [24]

In my study, Peter is the example of a data gatherer. He and Sesillia work in clearly different ways. Chu, Tita and Malith share aspects of both strategies. A particular strategy may become clear in one conversation or with the progressive development of a new auxiliary, but that rule learning suddenly disappears, gets shuffled in with the other information gathered, perhaps because resorting is taking place.

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[23] Hatch, p. 7-8.

[24] Ibid., p. 8.

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